

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8375
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 8073

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT CSCE UR
SUBJECT: THE SORRY STATE OF DISSIDENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION ON
THE EVE OF BELGRADE

SUMMARY: CAREFULLY TAILORING THEIR REPRESSIVE MEASURES TO
INDIVIDUAL DISSIDENTS, THE SOVIETS AUTHORITIES HAVE SINCE
LAST FALL, SUCCEEDED IN DEMORALIZING THE SOVIET DISSIDENT
MOVEMENT. SOME DISSIDENTS ARE EXILED, OR ALLOWED TO LEAVE,
OTHERS IMPRISONED AND STILL OTHERS HARASSED. A HARSH ANTI-
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DISSIDENT PRESS CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN MOUNTED. AS A RESULT,
SOVIET DISSIDENCE APPROACHES BELGRADE IN THE MOST
DEPRESSED, DEMORALIZED STATE IT HAS SEEN IN THE LST
SEVERAL YEARS. KGV SUCCESS IN DRAINING THE STRENGTH
OF THE DISSIDENTS AND SAPPING THEIR CONFIDENCE IS THE
MORE REMARKABLE BECAUSE LITTLE MORE THAN A YEAR AGO
IT SEEMED THAT SEVERAL DISSIDENT FACTIONS WERE

COMING TOGETHER AND MIGHT FACE THE AUTHORITIES, FOR THE FIRST TIME, WITH A RELATIVELY UNITED AND ARTICULATE OPPOSITION. THE SOVIET ABILITY TO REKINDLE DISSIDENT HOPES THROUGH POLITICAL BLUNDERS WHICH AROUSE WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, BE UNDERESTIMATED. END SUMMARY.

1. THE FORMATION OF THE ORLOV CSCE MONITORING GROUP PRESENTED THE AUTHORITIES WITH A SPECIFIC PROBLEM. THE FACT THAT THE GROUP WAS NOT CONSPIRATORIAL AND WAS BASED SQUARELY ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT COMPLICATED ITS REPRESSION. THE VARIED BACKGROUPS OF THE GROUP'S MEMBERS INDICATED AN UNUSUAL UNITING OF VARIOUS DISSIDENT STRAINS. ITS STRONG JEWISH REPRESENTATION MEANT THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME A SIGNIFICANT GROUP AMONG THE JEWISH REFUSENIK COMMUNITY WENT BEYOND ITS INTEREST IN LEAVING THE USSR TO ALLY ITSELF TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS DISSIDENTS, WHO WANT TO STAY IN THE USSR AND REFORM THE SYSTEM. THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLEMICAL SKILLS OF THE REFUSENIKS AND THEIR EXTREMELY GOOD CONTACTS WITH WESTERN JEWRY ENABLED HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES TO GAIN FAR GREATER ACCESS TO AND SUPPORT FROM THE WEST THAN WOULD OTHER WISE HAVE OCCURRED.

2. THE TACTIC OF THE AUTHORITIES, FOLLOWING THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE AND IN PREPARATION FOR BELGRADE, HAS BEEN TO TAILOR REPRESSIVE MEASURES TO SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL CASES. SOME PROMINENT ACTIVISTS, E.G. CONFIDENTIAL

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VITALIY RUBIN, YURIY MNYUKH AND LYUDA ALEKSEYEVA, WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE, OTHERS SUCH AS ANDREY AMALRIK WERE ENCOURAGED TO LEAVE AND STILL OTHERS, LIKE BUKOVSKIY, WERE EXPELLED FROM THE USSR. OF THOSE REMAINING IN THE SOVIET UNION, SOME WERE PUT IN PRISON OR DOMESTICALLY EXILED, E.G. KOVALEV, TVER-DOKHLEBOV AND MORE RECENTLY MAL'VA LANDA. OTHERS, PARTICULARLY IN RECENT MONTHS, HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND HELD INCOMMUNICADO PENDING TRIAL (ALEKSANDR GINZBURG, YURIY ORLOV

, ANATOLIY SHCHARANSKIY AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ORLOV CSCE MONITORING GROUPS IN MOSCOW AND THE PROVINCES). CAREFULLY CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED, THE INDIVIDUAL INSTANCES OF REPRESSION HAVE BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY A STEADY BARRAGE OF ARTICLES IN THE SOVIET MEDIA WARNING DISSIDENTS AGAINST CONTACTS WITH FOREIGNERS, PARTICULARLY WITH FOREIGN JOURNALISTS AND MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY. THE REFUSENIK AND CSCE GROUPS HAVE BEEN SMEARED AS TREASONOUS AND

ANTI-SOVIET.

3.THE POLICY OF SELECTIVE REPRESSION HAS WORKED
WELL.THE CSCE GROUPS HAVE PRACTICALLY DISAPPEARED
AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES HAVE REDUCED THEIR
ACTIVITIES IN THE FACE OF INCREASING KGB REPRESSION.
MORALE AMONG THE REFUSENIKCOMMUNITY IS AT A LOW
POINT. INSTEAD OF FEELING THAT BELGRAGE WOULD PRO-
VIDE THEM WITH OPPORTUNITIES TO IMPROVE THEIR LOT
AND INCREASE WESTERN ATTENTION TO SOVIET VIOLATIONS
OF HUMAN RIGHTS,THE DISSIDENTS ARE DEPRESSED,
HAVE VERY FEW HOPES FOR ANY PROGRESS AT BELGRADE
AND FEAR GREATLY INCREASED REPRESSION
IN THE POST-BELGRADE PERIOD.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOQ8073

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

4. THERE IS A CONSENSUS AMONG SOVIET DISSIENTS

THAT THEIR RECENT PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN GREATLY
EXACERBATED BY THE EXISTENCE AND ACTIVITIES OF
DISSIDENT GROUPS IN
EASTERN EUROPE. OUR DISSIDENT
SOURCES CLAIM TO HAVE HAD NO CONTACTS WITH ACTIVISTS
IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND AND ROMANIA. THEY FEEL,
HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES BECAME
VERY CONCERNED AT THE DISRUPTIVE POTENTIAL OF THESE DISSIDENTS, PARTICULARLY IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND IN PRE-BELGRADE
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PERIOD. OUR SOURCES BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET SECURITY
AUTHORITIES DECIDED TO SET AN EXAMPLE FOR THE
EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS TO EMULATE, AND, THERE-
FORE, DECIDED TO PREPRESS HERE MUCH MORE SEVERELY
THAN THEY HAD ORIGINALLY PLANNED. THUS THE KGB
ARRESTED AND CONTINUES TO INCARCERATE MANY MEMBERS OF
THE VARIOUS CSCE GROUPS INSTEAD OF MERELY
SEARCHING THEIR APARTMENTS AND HARASSING THEM FROM
TIME TO TIME.

5. AT THIS STAGE, OUR DISSIDENT SOURCES FOCUS ON
THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE AS BEST HOPE FOR THE MOVEMENT
AND FOR THE SHORT-TERM FUTURE OF DISSIDENTS IN THE
SOVIET UNION. THEY HOPE THAT THE SMALLER EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES WILL AGAIN, AS THEY DID IN HELSINKI,
DEFEND THE DISSIDENTS' INTEREST IN THE REIVE OF
BASKET III. THEY COUNT ON A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF
INADVERTENT HELP FROM THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES WHO
HAVE AN UNUSUAL PROPENSITY TO COMMIT A PROPAGANDA
GAFFE AT A KEY MOMENT. SEVERAL SOURCES HAVE
POINTED OUT AS AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE THE RECENT
REVELATION --SHORTLY BEFORE BELGRADE -- TO THE
MOTHER OF ANATOLIY SHCHARANSKIY THAT HER SON WAS TO
BE TRIED UNDER ARTICLE 64 (TREASON) OF THE RSFSR
CRIMINAL CODE. OUR SOURCES FEEL, HOWEVER, THAT
EXCEPT FOR SUCH UNEXPECTED PROPAGANDA GIFTS HANDED
TO THEM BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES, THE SITUATION FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION ON THE
EVE OF BELGRADE IS FAR LESS PROMISING THAN THEY HAD
HOPED AND THOUGHT WOULD BE THE CASE.
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